1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

En-aidura.

484 Enyor nuleŋ il-Maasae en-aidura, amu ten emany e-wẽji
[233] nemetii 'n-gujit, neidur aapwo ae-wẽji netii 'n-gujit.

Ten eidur, neirot i-sirkon
[492] aapik il-onĩto oo 'l-direta, nepik i-malasin atwa 'l-direta, nenap i-ŋgorõyok il-benĩa.

Naa, ten emany e-wẽji nemetii
484 'n-gujit, nemeabetu 'ng-ajijik,
342 emany il-ŋgobori. Ore 'l-ŋgobori naa 'ng-ajijik oo-'l-onĩto. Ore ten epwo e-wẽji netii 'n-gujit kumok, neabetu 'ng-ajijik.

[462] Naa 'ŋgorõyok naabetu. E'yau 'l-loom, nẽunõki en-gop, neãn too-'ng-opit, nepik il-[illegible] Ore [illegible] too-'mõdiok oo-'n-giabu, e ol-õkidoŋgoi ĉabulare 'mõdiok.

The process of moving.

The Masai are fond of moving, and if they happen to be staying in a place where the grazing is poor, they move to another spot.

When they move, they saddle their donkeys with skins and pack-saddles in which they put their gourds, and the women carry bags.

Should they stop in a place where the grass is not good, they do not build proper huts, but they live in the so-called il-ngobori, i. e. in huts made of skins. When they go to a good grazing ground, they build huts.

The women do the work of building. They procure poles, and put one end in holes, which they dig in the ground; they then bind the poles together with cord made from trees; after which they cover the framework with long grass. When they have finished this, they plaster the whole of the outside with cowdung and mud.

'Manyat oo 'l-puli loo-'l-muran loo-'l-Maasae.

591 Memany il-muran oo-'l-Maasae ing-aŋgita, kake emany i-manyat eboitare noolŋgotonye oo 'sanjan.

343 Ore ten epwo o-serò ãinos 'n-giri, nemany il-puli eboitare 'singan lenye.

Masai warriors' kraals and slaughter-houses.

Masai warriors do not live in the kraals of the married people; they have their own kraals, where they dwell with their mothers and lovers.

When they go to the woods to eat meat, they live in the slaughter-houses[1] with their boy-servants.

[264] [1] Meat may not be eaten in the manyat, or warriors' kraals, and special places, called il-puli, are erected in the woods, to which the warriors retire when they slaughter cattle.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Il-kĭk ooirieki 'l-pukurto oo 'malasin naapiki kullo:

The trees which are used for fumigating the milk gourds:

824
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Ten eisuj i-ŋgorŏyok il-pukurto naa 'n-gulak oo-'n-gishu áisuji o e-ŏŏsian o-'l-piro.

The women clean the milk gourds with cows' urine and a twig of the doum palm (*Hyphaene thebaica*, Mart.), the end of which has been chewed till it resembles a brush.

Ore p' eidip aatŏŏr to-'l-oirien, nemesut to-'l-kidoŋgoi.

The gourd is then fumigated by means of a smouldering piece of wood, after which it is dusted out with a cow's tail kept especially for this purpose.

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412

Ore 'l-kĭk ooitái 'l-oirienito ooji:

The trees which are used for fumigating are:

1. Ol-oirien[1] araki ol-tamiyoi.
2. Ol-dorko.
3. Ol-oisuki.
4. Ol-tai.
5. O-iri.

1. *Olea chrysophylla*, Lam.
2. *Cordia Rothii*, Roem. and Schult.
3. *Zanthoxylum sp.*
4. *Premna oligoericha*, Baker.
5. *Grewia sp.*

Il-kĭk ooitaa 'l-muran oo 'n-doiye 'l-orŏpili:

The trees which the warriors and girls use for scent:

824
302

1. 'N-dapuka o-'l-orŏpil.
2. 'N-dana o-'l-mokongoro.
3. 'M-benek o-'l-leleshwa naapik 'n-giyaa.
4. 'M-benek o-'n-jani o-'ngare.
5. E-ongŏyo eitauni 'ngopit, nepiai, nepiki 'murto.
6. 'N-dapuka oo 'm-benek o-'l-kumbeu loo-'l-muran[2].

1. The flowers of *Justicia Fischeri*, Lindau.
2. The roots of *Lantana sp.*
3. The leaves of *Tarchonanthus camphoratus*, Houtt., which they wear in their ears.
4. The leaves of *Urticaceous sp.*, which grows at the water's edge.
5. *Indigofera sp.* This is plaited and hung round the neck.
6. The flowers and leaves of *Ocimum suave*, Willd.

[1] Ol-oirien means both the heart-wood of a tree and the wild olive.
[2] Lit. the warrior's tobacco.

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

561 moran, acting as their guardians and instructors. But after the period devoted to family matters the newly made elders also start thinking about their protégés. Thus, at the moment, the Dwati are responsible for both ages of moran, Kisale and Merisho, yet the Dareto are already engaged in the preliminary ceremonies, *endungore* and *engibata*, of the future moran. This means that under the age grade system, two generations of elders are responsible for two generations of moran for a short time (note overlap on chart). But the elders who shoulder most political responsibility are the il *piron* or guardians of the main body of moran. The matter is by no means clear, but there exist vestiges of a ceremony now practised in conjunction with fertility rites, etc., whereby the senior elders retire and hand over the government to the junior elders.

So it should once more be stressed that after his service as a warrior a Masai does not settle into a dead level of elderhood. The different generations keep themselves aloof in such matters as deputations to the Laibon (though at times they combine) and in the meetings preceding [264] and ceremonies following such deputations. A modern tendency to be noted is that when camped at cattle auctions each generation will cook and eat by itself. It is natural that men of equal age should associate, but the age grade system provides a clear-cut means of providing for this.

561 162 The following table, compiled in 1939, gives some examples of the distribution of population amongst the then existing age-grade generations. It is probable that there were a few more Nyangusi and Laimer than the table indicates, but that they had been exempt and omitted from the tax-registers which were used as the basis of enquiry.

Distribution of Population by Generations.

	Kibaya.	*Samatwa.*	*Engasumet.*	*Longido.*	*Total.*
Nyangusi ...	1	—	—	—	1
Laimer ...	2	1	—	1	4
Dalala ...	14	12	8	23	57
Dwati ...	58	52	23	26	159
Dareto ...	49	69	38	62	218
Total Elders ...	124	134	69	112	439
Kisale ...	82	123	56	200	460
Merisho ...	41	36	11	34	122
Total Moran ...	123	159	66	234	582
Grand Total ...	247	293	135	346	1021
% Moran to Total ...	49.9	54.3	48.9	67.6	57.0

The two most striking facts that emerge from this table are that more than half the adult male population were at the time moran, and that the Merisho or left hand age formed only a quarter of the moran population.

561 182 The basic function of the age grade system is doubtless military, and now that the necessity for maintaining a standing army has been removed it might be thought that the early demise of the system is an object to be desired and encouraged. True, modern conditions make

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

Prior to the meat *Ol-Ng'esher* the men must eat meat in the forest or bush. They build a small round stockade, called *Ol Pul*, of thorns with one entrance about 2 ft. 6 ins. high through which one must crawl. Here they store the meat, and sleep. They may eat the meat either within or without the *Ol Pul*. There is a picture of an *Ol Pul* opposite p. 292 in Hollis.

The meat is pierced by a wooden spit about 18 ins. long. This is stuck in the ground by the fire and the meat is toasted. Soup is also made of fat and water and the bark of *Il Kitoloswa* or *Il Kiluretti* trees. The decoction of these barks makes the warriors fierce. They also ascribe to this cause the curious hysterical fits into which they frequently fall when excited. I can vouch for the *Il Kitoloswa*, small doses of which do, in fact, produce a fierce and unbalanced state of mind. I have never tried the *Il Kiluretti*.

When the warriors sleep in an *Ol Pul* they pray to God at sunrise on behalf of their age-group. Each one takes his skewer and rubs it in the ashes of the fire in the *Ol Pul*. He then goes out of the entrance and strikes the sides of it and walks towards the East reciting his prayer and striking trees with the skewer. While returning he sings the war song *Eng-ipolossa* of his age-group. As he re-enters the *Ol Pul* he thrusts the skewer into the thorns at the entrance on his right and leaves it there. There are nearly always a bundle of skewers to be seen in this position.

The prayer is as follows :—

"*Na Ai aatomono atabukua olemeānikino enkila etabukutua linono lemaar il ogarak ol lughunya. Na iye Eng Ai aatomono injoki iyook ingishu naang'ang'unyi. Naa iye Eng Ai naatejo Na Ai taānyiki iyook ol poror naa ol kilo. Naa iye Eng Ai naatejo injoki iyook nemear il ogurak il lughuny atabukua il omunyak neinguaa kulikae omunyak nemear il ogarak il lughung. Aatomono Na Ai uasen ai engolong meilepu t'ol ondolu tangoro iyook il tiil-omunyak.*"

Here is the translation :—

"O God I have prayed Thee having come out hither with my garment unbound. Thy (warriors) have come out here, let not wild beasts hurt my head. And Thee O God I have prayed give us the cattle which prosper steadily. And Thee O God I have prayed bind together for us the age-group in one garment. And I have said to Thee O God let not the wild beasts hurt the heads of the fortunate ones who have come out here and let them not hurt the heads of other fortunate ones who come from far away. I have prayed Thee God, my beloved, when the sun rises from the valley, strike thou us with the rays which are lucky."

Each age-group has a different song. The song of the Il Kitoip is "*Tangoroki iyook t'alena tauwa neduru indonata o asurui nemetii ol morani le sayet elobi.*" I cannot translate it because, like other Masai songs, it is couched in rather cryptic language.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

latter is of little economic significance, except that it is the duty of the warriors to get cattle by raiding. In the division of work, the people mainly concerned are the uncircumcised boys, the girls, and the women. The boys do most of the herding, assisted by the elders. Women and girls milk and act as servants to the warriors. The girls do household work till they are old enough to become lovers of the warriors, when they do very little work. The greater part of the work thus falls on the older women, who besides doing or supervising the milking and other ordinary household tasks like fetching water and firewood, build the huts, load and drive the donkeys when moving, prepare skins for clothing, and trade with neighbouring tribes for food and other things. The warriors used to be occupied exclusively either with war or preparations for war, or with dancing, visiting, and making love. Their military activities have today been replaced by certain tasks connected with cattle, and by cattle-stealing and raids on neighbouring tribes. The senior elders are occupied with political matters, and some of them with the instruction and control of the initiates and younger warriors; they also help with the herding, and take part in trading with the neighbouring peoples.

The only specialists in the economic sphere are the smiths, *il-kunono*, sing. *ol-kunoni*, who live segregated from the rest of the Masai, and marry among themselves. They have a distinctly inferior status, and are despised by the Masai, who oil their hands before taking anything from a smith. At one time the smiths lived near deposits of iron ore, such as those in the Matapato river; but nowadays the availability of trade-iron has given them greater freedom of domicile. They make the iron-work used by the Masai, including spears, swords, and ornaments.[6]

Though according to Hollis a few Masai women made pottery, the Masai as a rule buy their pots from the Bantu.

Food

Except among the agricultural Masai, no cereal or vegetable food at all is grown, nor was it eaten in the old days by warriors, whose diet consisted of meat, milk, and blood, the latter providing the necessary salt. The animals eaten included their own cattle, buffalo, *ol-osowuas*, and eland, *o-sirua*, which they considered to be related to cattle, and therefore fit to eat.[7] Warriors were not allowed to eat honey, to drink honey-wine, or to take tobacco, though some took snuff. Children and married people eat vegetable food, and the meat of cattle which die a natural death. Warriors when they want to eat meat, build a rough shelter called *ol-pul* in the bush where, accompanied by a boy to do the work, small groups feast upon the meat of an ox supplied by the father of one of their number. The elder who supplies the ox is given some of the meat, and this is one of the regular sources of meat for married people, for meat eating is the regular practice of warriors. Men and women do not eat together, and fish, fowls, eggs, and game other than buffalo and eland are not eaten by any Masai.

Trade

Since the Masai are not self-supporting, they have to trade with the Bantu agriculturists, *il-meek*, whom they despise, in order to get what they want. Their chief suppliers are the Kikuyu, Chaga, and Taveta; and for certain things, notably ivory and honey, the Dorobo. The media of exchange are cattle (old, barren, and otherwise unsatisfactory cows), old and thin goats and sheep, donkeys, butter, and hides. The principal goods bought are food (beans, millet, maize) and tobacco, which they get from the Bantu; the chief suppliers of meal are Indian traders, often Sikhs,

[6] Leakey says that the Masai buy their swords from the Kikuyu (*JRAI*, LX, p. 209); this may well be the case near the Kikuyu border, though it is perhaps a recent development.

[7] The Galla also consider the buffalo to be the equivalent of the ox. Bahrey, *Historia Gentis Galla*, chap. XX, Guidi.

/31 cont./

517 For the most part an atmosphere of dullness and boredom lies
535 over the kraal of the married (eng an el moruak). Only on moon-
[533] lit evenings /32/ do the women amuse themselves with song, es-
pecially if a few warriors are there on a visit and give the impetus
for the gaiety. Women and warriors dance in separate groups.
For dancing the women station themselves in a row, move forward
a short distance, then make a "right turn" and, with short steps,
dance in a row back to the former place. The married men dance
only on festive occasions, but by themselves. The text of the
accompanying song naturally refers to the life prevailing here.

517 Otherwise quiet prevails in the family kraal after darkness has
521 set in; in good weather the people will sit for a while in front of
513 the huts, silently or softly conversing, and go to rest already at
8:00 o'clock or 8:30.

621 Even 12-14 years ago, before the Masai lost their huge
592 livestock-holdings in two great epidemics, each family had its
178 own kraal; now, on the other hand, almost everywhere several
233 families live together.
731

In the morning life begins around 4:00 o'clock, at which time
512 the women fetch the quite young calves from the compartments
[462] and take them to the cows, where they remain for the driving out
[233] to pasture. At daybreak the milking commences, for which all
[234] the women appear. After it is finished, breakfast, consisting of
264 fresh milk, is taken. Milk, soups, and thin porridge are drunk
[512] from gourd bottles; foods of greater consistency are put in the
[262] mouth with the fingers. Meat is partially cut up with a knife and
[415] completely torn into bits with the teeth. The hands are not washed
[412] before a meal. Smacking and belching while eating show good
breeding. Men and women eat apart and have their separate
vessels for eating and drinking. Those of the latter are shared by
the children. If the man wishes to eat in the hut, the woman has
to leave it beforehand.

/36 cont./

512 [264] [462] [517] 524

At one o'clock in the afternoon, the noon meal is eaten, after the men who have looked after the cattle in the pasture have returned. After the meal one takes a nap, plays a little game, or picks up some manual work (making articles of clothing or adornment, clubs, gourd bottles, etc.). The principal game

Fig. 8. 1/10.

of the Masai is the board game (en dodoi, en dodo) (Fig. 8). Two rows of six to ten depressions or compartments running side by side in a longitudinal direction are carved into a thick board about two feet long. The rules of the game are as follows: the board stands between two players; to each of them belongs the row facing him (ol mátua, el mátuan). Now each one places in each compartment (en qurtóto, 'n qurtót) of his row four stones (os sólđ, es sóldo) (2).

2. One uses for this round river-pebbles or the fruits of the ol gúlangulu (Caesalpinia Bonducella Roxb.).

The player who starts takes the four stones out of one of the compartments of his row and puts one of them into each of the next compartments to the right. From the compartment in which he placed his last stone and in which there are now five, he removes these and, as before, places them in the next compartments, whereby he passes from his own row to that of the opponent. He proceeds in this manner until the last of the stones taken from a compartment happens to fall into an empty compartment.

/36 cont./

524 Now the partner starts in the same way playing in his row, /37/ to let the other play again as soon as he has placed a last stone in an empty compartment. The one who places a last stone in an empty compartment of his own row takes it and the ones lying in the adjacent compartment of the opponent's row for himself, and so on until, according to the rules, no more stones can be taken out of play. The one who has removed the most stones has won the match and gives himself a point. Serving as counters [802] are small, finger-thick, and spindle-shaped ivory sticks 15-20 [239] centimeters long (ol alai, el ala) (1).

1. As tooth generally is called tusk of the elephant, ivory.

Before the game starts, there is an understanding as to how many points are to be played. Women never play this game, warriors rarely. The latter usually prefer the en gehé ('n gehén), which is played in much the same way, except that in any case about eight players for each side take turns and each row has 40 to 50 compartments, which are not chiseled into a board, but are scratched into the ground.

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Fig. 9. (1/2).

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When the livestock has come home from pasture, it is milked, as in the morning, and after that the evening meal, consisting of fresh milk, is taken.

[Warrior Kraal]

/84 cont./

701 836 As long as the latter stays in the kraal, his girl is obliged to remain faithful to him, but if he leaves it, even for only one day, she is entitled to console herself with another kraal companion, provided that between her and him -- as is also a condition for her relationship with her os sandja -- there is no obstacle such as the above-mentioned obstacles to marriage based on lineage affiliation.

233 857 The tending of the livestock falls to the boys. Even at night they sleep outside in order to watch them and are assisted in the watch by the mothers, who take turns several times every night and frighten off wild animals by shouting.

361 /85/ 233 417 [343] [672] Within the ring of huts there is a circular kraal of thorns for the cattle and near that a narrower one for goats and sheep, while beside almost every hut there is a small lean-to for the young calves and a barricade of branches for the older calves of the individual ones. Thus everyone remains responsible for the barricading of his calves and, if at night they should find their way to the cows, has no excuse for starting a quarrel with others in the morning on account of the lack of milk. Milk is the only food that the Ol morani takes in the kraal, and the lack of it is therefore especially grievous. Outside of it, only meat serves the warriors as food, and, to be sure, only that from cattle, sheep, and goats. They do not take vegetable food, honey beer, and tobacco. The meat meals are always held outside the kraal; a slaughtered head of small livestock is consumed a few hundred meters from the kraal, behind a bush, whereas for the consumption of a head of cattle a more distant spot under a shade tree in the bush /Fig. 18 appears here/ or forest is chosen. For these forest meals (ol bul, e buli) mess companies are formed in every warrior kraal, which are designated sirit' ol bul and which consist of five or six members, each of whom is called os sirit ol bul. Such banquets take place once or twice a month for each mess company and last three or four days each time, during which an ox is consumed. Besides the warriors, one to three girls also take part, and also a few boys as servants for fetching pots, water, and firewood, as well as for kitchen work. Prior to the slaughtering each mess company splits up into two equal-sized parts, each of which is called ol gibet and prepares its own camp. Under a shade tree with thick

701 262 264 [273] [276] 701 262 264 574 000

[Warrior Kraal]

701 /85 cont./ Under a shade tree with thick
361 foliage a spot about 20 to 25 square meters in size is cleared and en-
342 closed with a barricade of branches. During the rainy season in place of this kraal a small hut (Fig. 18) is built out of leaves. Its approximately circular ground plan has a diameter of two to three
701 meters. On the side opposite the
342 entrance opening is the common
35 sleeping place of the ol gibet companions; between this and the door, the hearth; beside the door the space for firewood.

Fig. 18.

a) Sleeping place. b) Drinking bag. c) Pole for meat. d) Hearth. e) Firewood. f) Entrance.

[415] Close beside the sleeping
[237] place hangs the stomach or
[276] bladder -- from the head of cattle just slaughtered -- filled with an extract of roots and barks that acts as a nerve stimulant and is drunk whenever one is thirsty (ol ōōni).

[251] In the vicinity of the hearth the meat supply, is hung on sticks (ol
701 alele). In the vicinity of the warrior hut the serving boys build them-
342 selves their own, considerably smaller one. One calls kraal or hut eñg adji ol bul. Each ol gibet receives a longitudinal half of the
701 slaughtered head of cattle, from which, however, it immediately
262 gives back the pieces intended for cooking for the common meals
264 of the day. /86/ The picked-out fat is cooked together with this
[252] meat, and to the whole are added extracts or decoctions from roots
[276] and barks (especially from ol getalassua (1),

1. Myrica kilimandscharica Engl.

ol giloriti (2),

2. Acacia abyssinica.

[Warrior Kraal]

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264
[252]
[276]

/86 cont./
ol dimmigommi (3),

3. Pappea capensis.

which have a strong stimulating effect. The rest of the meat, roasted at an open fire, is then eaten by each ol gibet in common, and, to be sure, at a morning and an evening meal. The head of cattle is furnished in turn by the participants or their fathers.

The longest forest meal takes place as a rule in the month kipēr. Since the pasture is poor then, the livestock gives so little milk that the warriors sometimes live for a whole month on almost only meat.

701
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[293]
[237]

At the head of the warriors of a kraal stands the speaker (ol aigwenani or ol airohani). The badge of his office is an especially beautifully worked club of rhinoceros horn (4)

4. The straight horn of a species of Rhinoceros bicornis not yet described to my knowledge, which the author found at the beginning of 1896 in the steppe southeast of Kilimandscharo, is especially popular for making these clubs. The horns of this species (or variety) differ from those of the ones described thus far by the fact that they are quite straight and in cross-section never round, but rather so strongly compressed laterally that they appear sword-shaped; the front horn is often shorter than the back one.

or ebony wood. It is swung like a baton in connection with the speeches accompanied by numerous gestures, in order to give emphasis to individual words. This is also achieved in the manner of speaking, by the fact that one pronounces the emphasized words long drawn out and repeats the emphasized sentence several times. The speech to a larger gathering is always delivered very loudly and vigorously. While the listeners squat on the ground, the orator [516] stands erect, his glance directed alternately toward one or the other of the chief persons among the listeners. What the orator lacks in logic he tries to make up for by verbosity, dialectic, and higher pitch in tone. The members of the audience often give the impression of rapt attention, their glance is almost continually directed at the one

[Warrior Kraal]

512 /89 cont./

701 Life in the kraal begins at sunrise, when the mothers and the
462 girls start milking the livestock. Not until around seven o'clock,
[233] when the boys drive the livestock to pasture, do the warriors get up
[234] to take the first meal (en daā e dadegenja = food in the morning),
[224] consisting of fresh milk. Then the women apply themselves to the
[272]
[262]

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C. G. Schillings phot.

Ill. 33. Dance in the warrior kraal II.

512 cleaning of the cattle stalls and other work, as well as to start the
701 cooking of their food, consisting of purchased vegetables. This is
462 eaten around two o'clock in the afternoon (en daā e kat' aré, that
[262] is, the second meal), while then the warriors at the same time
[264] drink the rest of the morning milk, which has already become
[272] somewhat sour (eńg ule naisedjo = slightly sour milk). After that
512 the old women take a nap or busy themselves with sewing and making
535 ornaments, while the warriors along with the girls /90/ amuse
701 themselves with dance and song (os siṅgólio) under a nearby shade
tree. For this a row of warriors stands opposite a row of girls. The
former dance in place by slightly lifting the feet and bending the

[Warrior Kraal]

/90 cont./

512 knees. The row of girls moves forward up to the warriors with short,
535 stamping steps, bending their knees and swaying their upper bodies.
701 As a rule the dance ends when each girl whose lover is absent ap-
[836] proaches one of the dancing warriors in short high-jumps. This is an
[832] invitation to a rendezvous, which the one concerned answers in
[533] similar fashion as a sign of consent. The dance is always accom-
panied by singing. Shortly before sunset all return to the kraal.

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Ill. 34. Dance in the warrior kraal III. $\frac{1}{4}$ C. G. Schillings phot.

512
701 Soon afterwards the livestock returns home, and, after it is milked,
[234] the people take the evening meal (en dai e téiba = food in the even-
• [264] ing), again consisting of milk. After that the dancing of warriors
[272] and girls begins anew on a small open place in the kraal, close to
[535] the entrance, and is interrupted only from time to time in order to
moisten with milk the throats shouted dry. During this time the
512 mothers are still busy with the livestock. It takes quite a while
234

1, [Illustrations 34 and 35 (on p. 119), despite the differences in captions, apparently were both taken at the same location, with only a slight time differential--Analyst]

/92 cont./

721 en dorosi, the en doros. For the warriors this consists of three or four
726 leather strips cut from the apron of their favorite girls, which are
714 adorned with stitched-on beads and, beside them, tied-on pieces of wood (from twigs of the ol araschi and os siaiti trees), while the leaders wear as en doros the borrowed tobacco box of a married man or his fly switch. The en dorosi obliges every warrior to take part in the ex-
703 pedition. Anyone who nevertheless stays away out of fear is most deeply despised and outlawed; any warrior may kill him without penalty. In order to give the fainthearted courage, the most daring ones not infrequently stick a ball, which has a diameter of 10-12 centimeters and is made out of black ostrich feathers, on the tips of their spears. Through this they express their firm determination to attack the opponent and to stand up to him in hand-to-hand combat, for the ball may be removed from the spear point only by one's running it into the body of the enemy.

721 The purpose of a war is always only the capture of livestock, and, to be sure, only cattle. War is not undertaken for goats and sheep. Boys may go to steal small livestock! Only the capture of cattle is worthy of a warrior; he only takes small livestock along as well when he can directly achieve this together with the cattle.

721 In order to get permission for the war expedition, the speakers
791 together betake themselves to the ol oiboni and put before him the wishes of the warriors. None of the latter accompany them, since they would behave too uncouthly in the presence of the great man, who wishes calmness and clarity in the consultations.

721 /93/ The ol oiboni keeps himself accurately informed both about
726 the strength of the individual warrior kraals and about all the condi-
791 tions of the surrounding sedentary tribes coming into consideration for a war, so that he is in a very good position to judge accurately the prospects of victory for either side with great probability. He also keeps himself posted about unimportant and secondary matters with regard to the opponent and weaves all this knowledge adroitly together in his answer, so that it sounds like a seer's pronouncement and is taken as such by the speakers and warriors. His answer -- as the speakers report it -- runs, for example: "You will attack the Kahe area; it is strong, and you will therefore first hold a twelve-day

721 /93 cont./
726 forest meal (1),
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[264]

1. Ol bul or, if an en dorosi has taken place, ol bul en dorosi, or, in short for that, en dorosi, with which the present-day language also designates every forest meal prior to a war expedition.

in order to strengthen yourselves. Then you will set out for war on the day ol gadet. On the following day, ol ondjori, you will pass an old camping place. Then, before you reach your camp, you will meet a single Kahe boy. Do not kill him, but bring him to me; otherwise you would be defeated. On the ol onjugi day you will
726 fight and conquer, etc. etc." If something does not fit in, it is due
714 to the carelessness or mistakes of the warriors. Furthermore, for the
791 spies sent ahead of the expedition, the ol oiboni gives them a few
789 amulets (e mascho ol oiboni), which make their wearers invisible. The amulets contain one of his magic remedies and are tied around the wrist or to the spear or shield. Another war medicine consists of a mixture whose chief ingredient is snake eggs (mossor ol assurai). A large leg-bell (ol dualla kitok, Fig. 19) is filled with the medicine. In war it is tied to a club and hurled at the enemy offering resistance, so that he will flee, or it is tossed into his herd in order to drive apart the livestock, which then is caught by the Masai. In order to have the expected effect, it is desirable that the
726 medicine be hurled by a left-handed warrior. The speakers convey the chief's answer to the warriors, who have most impatiently awaited their return. Hastily they prepare themselves for the forest meal; weapons, pots, and the livestock needed are gathered together, and two by two the es sirit set out together for the nearest bush. Whereas
[263] in the ordinary meat meals only relatively few spices are used, for
[276] the en dorosi in particular all the many vegetable agents that the

Fig. 19. 1/3

234 hair styles. The gourds are grown by nearby cultivators
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[264] and purchased or traded by the Masai. The calabashes are cleaned between usings by washing in water (if available) and then purified with a mixture of urine and wood ash. After being carried in one of these containers the milk has a rather characteristic, somewhat smoky-sweet taste that may stay with one for several days.

443 The maize meal is purchased or traded from the dukas or trading post cum general stores which are found at Narok, Loliondo, and at other points around the periphery of the area.

262
272 Meat comes from the Masai livestock and occasionally game. The old traditions laid down specified rules for who in the tribe might eat what kind of meat, and at
[701] what times. Apparently the warriors had a right to demand milk and sometimes meat from anyone, at least in their section. Milk and meat were not to be consumed on the same day, but blood could be mixed with the milk.

701
[562] When not fighting the warriors could carry out an olpul, or meat camp. They would take goats or a bullock and make camp in the bush, kill and eat the animals. The olpul might take from a week to a month,
[826] depending on the available time and meat. We presume that